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WASHINGTON, D. C.

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For the National Era.

HERMAN;

or,

YOUNG KNIGHTHOOD.

By E. P. FOXTON,

Author of "Priscilla."

CHAPTER XXI.—Continued.

In the evening, Paul went yet once more to Mr. Trimmer's, and told him the events of the day. The old man looked downcast, and sorrowful. "The individual stammered?"

"Excessively; but his situation might have accounted for that."

"Military? Noble bearing?"

"Very likely; I'm no judge," said Edward.

"But he wore a blue coat, with large gold buttons."

"Ah! I'm fearful that what Draycoe! Very

seafarly! I would be very sorry to think so, very

Draycoe's a man of his word,—fine gen-

erous, noble-hearted, ever lived; but

and patriotic, too! I hope!"

I ex-
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THE NATIONAL ERA: WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 28, 1859.

66

To Advertising.—Business men will find it greatly to their advantage to advertise in the Era.
Messrs. Pentigill & Co., S. B. Niles, and Jay, Co., & Co., are authorized advertising agents for Boston
New York, and Philadelphia.

The following gentlemen are accredited agents for the
Era: G. W. Light, Boston, Mass.; J. A. Innis, Saile,
Mass.; Thomas Wheeler, Cincinnati, Ohio; L. T. Park,
Mount Union, Ohio.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
THURSDAY, APRIL 28, 1859.

MANUFACTURING IN THE SOUTH.

The Philadelphia *Inquirer* undertakes to show the utility and feasibility of conducting manufacturers on a limited scale in the slaveholding States. It says:

"We know of no single measure which we should like to see carried into effect than the establishment of manufactures in the Southern States. And this, for reasons alike special and general, for the benefit of those States themselves, for the good of all large manufacturing industry, and for the welfare of the South."

"But our manufacturing industry is presented—i.e., can the requisite means, material of proceeding, and tell us if they are authorized by any principle of political economy?"

In reply to these inquiries, we would point the *Inquirer* to the fact, that the idea of producing a system of manufactures in the South is now new. It has been frequent and habitual theme of newspaper discussion in the Southern States for the last quarter of a century, and not a manufacturing enterprise has been undertaken in the South, which have been attended with some success. Small cotton factories have been established, and we believe that where they have been well managed, they have been profitable investments.

"Why not, we ask? Why should not the South produce cotton fabrics at home, and for foreign supply, if need were? Look at present modes of proceeding, and tell us if they are authorized by any principle of political economy?"

The remarks, of course, presuppose the employment of slave labor. On the northern borders of the South, where the institution of Slavery has only a nominal existence, manufactures are beginning to take root and flourish. This is the case in Baltimore, Wilmington, (Del.), Wheeling, (Va.), Louisville, and St. Louis.

Slavery presents obstacles to Southern com-

munity of precisely the same character which we have referred to in connection with manufactures.

The absorption of capital in an improp-

erly ductive form, the want of intelligence, skill,

and ambition, in the slaves, and the utter impos-

sibility of bringing together large masses of

slaves without precipitating insurrection, are as

poor obstacles in one case as in the other.

These circumstances, which utterly disqual-

ify a slaveholding community from succeeding

in commerce or manufactures, render the South

eminently a agricultural region. Slaves may

be employed in agriculture, for the reason that

the labor required is rude and coarse; and the

nature of the employment, requiring dispersion

over a large surface, is favorable to the preser-

vation of order and subordination.

It is also to be remarked, that the staple pro-

ducts of the South cannot be produced so well

if at all, in any other part of the country; and

this circumstance gives the planters a virtual

monopoly of production, which confers a fa-

cilitation upon Slavery. We have written on

the subject of cotton in the *Democrat*, and

will do so again in the *Evening Post*.

Slavery abstracts nearly all the capital in

the Southern States. There are now some four

hundred thousand slaves, which, at five hundred dol-

lars each, are worth two thousand millions of

dollars. This is not far from half the wealth

of the slaveholding States, and it is a great

deal more than half the value of those por-

tions of the South in which Slavery chiefly abounds.

The North is far wealthier than the South,

but it an equal portion of Northern

capital was spent in the purchase of four mil-

lions of negro slaves, its capacity for manufac-

turing as well as for commercial enterprise

would be materially lessened.

To invest capital in human beings is to sink

it, so far as its productive capacity is concerned.

The human being will work for day wages, and

hence it is not necessary to invest a thousand

dollars in him as a slave. If one hundred thousand slaves will set one hundred freemen

at work in a factory or on a plantation, then

two hundred thousand will be required where

slaves are employed and owned by the man-

ufacturer. It will not need the master to say,

that the manufacturer need not own the slaves he employs—that he may hire them; and

that the laborers be owned as property, their value

must be deducted from the capital of the com-

munity which is available for investment. We

are not maintaining, now, that the owners of

slaves are not as well reimbursed in profits

upon their investments as those who employ

free labor. Let it be conceded that Slavery is

profitable to the individual slaveholder, and

still it is a dead loss to the community. The

profits which arise to the slaveholder, as such,

are merely the wages which should be paid to

his slaves; and it is clear, that to take the fruits

of one man's labor, and confer them upon

another, is not to add to the aggregate produc-

tion of the community.

Property in slaves is therefore wholly unproduc-

tive. Slavery is merely a monopoly. It sim-

ply robs the laborer of his wages, and turns

them over to his master, but it produces nothing.

Where slaves are employed in any indus-

trial enterprise, it is not their value which is

invested in it, but their food and clothing for

the time being, more than anything else.

They are not to be reckoned, for the time

being, as part of the capital.

The following extract may be regarded as

a general indictment against the Administration,

embracing half a dozen or more counts, each

of which charges a capital offence. He

says: "As the Charleston *Mercury* writes:

"We have tried to play the same game

as the *Evening Post* can, but without success;

whether in the South or the North.

"The suppression disengages the

economic question of any connection with

the questions regarding the condition of the

negro, his fitness for freedom, and his readi-

ness to perform voluntary labor for wages, on

his own account.

In the case supposed, the South would have

restored in the four millions of freedmen who

own themselves, and who are worth that sum

to say the least, to themselves. It follows from

hence that capital invested in slaves more

purchases a monopoly to one class, at the ex-

pense of another, and that it is sunk or thrown

away to the community at large.

There are other particularities in the

way of establishing manufactures in the South.

In the first place, the mechanic arts and man-

ufactures require a class of laborers superior in

intelligence and skill to such as will merely do

as field hands. This intelligence and skill can

not be expected of slaves, to whom are denied

the very rudiments of education, and who at

the very bottom of the scale are to be turned into prohibi-

tion time are depraved by their condition of the ordinary motives of ambition and interest which stimulate free laborers to improvement. In the second place, it would be utterly impracticable to build up a manufacturing city in which the whole laboring class should be slaves, for the simple reason that they would make themselves free. Thus aggregated, they could not be held in Slavery. The most fanatical champion of the peculiar institution would not deem it possible to hold laboring populations as large as those of Philadelphia, Baltimore, or even of Lowell, in Slavery; and the bare suggestion of this impossibility will illustrate the absurdity of all speculations about making the slaveholding

South a manufacturing country. A few small factories, or here and there a workshop, may do well, but that is all that can be accomplished by slavery.

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WASHINGTON, D.C.

SIGNS OF PROGRESS.

We are gratified to observe in that large wing of the Pennsylvania Democracy, represented by Messrs. Forney, Hickman, and Governor Packer, unmistakable signs of a return to the true principles of Jefferson. In another column we insert copious extracts from the recent speech of Mr. Hickman at the Boller's Convention, which, while it clings to the idea of "popular sovereignty," is decidedly Anti-Slavery in its tone. Colonel Forney, in his able newspaper, the *Philadelphia Press*, speaks in a similar vein. In a recent article upon the slave trade, he says:

"The servility of the Administration to the haughty and arrogant friends of the slave power has apparently reached its climax. Not content with endeavoring to force Slavery upon the soil of Kansas against the will of her citizens; not content with advocating a theory designed to force Slavery, by positive law, into all the Territories; but, in addition to the wishes of those who are to inhabit them; not content with squandering the money of the Federal Treasury with reckless extravagance, to purchase in the North veal white slaves to obey the heists of Southern种植者; not content with thirty thousand negroes imported into the country, the Administration has crowned its pyramid of infamy by shamelessly neglecting its official duties for the purpose of conning at the revival of a traffic, so odious that, but five years ago, scarcely a single human being in America would have dared to broach it, and that, even then, it was the case with the blackest of human crimes—which has been justly denominated 'the sum of all villainies.'

These remarks are true, there is now no sufficient barrier to the revival of the slave trade. The whole drama has been played out, and the existing laws completely set at defiance. When a cargo of slaves left upon our shores—no matter if it be the guinea of the crew or the souls of the crew—Southern jury will ignore a bill of indictment against them. If a deputy marshal, in the centre of a Southern State, has enough old-fashioned integrity, notwithstanding his Southern education and practices, to suppose that a sufficient number of existing laws did not apply, we at that instant become a President and a Vice-President, and a Senator and a Senator being under the control of those infected with Beecherism or trained in Northern schools.

From the Mississippi and State Gazette, April 13.

THE RIGHT TO PROTECTION.

Not more clear is the doctrine that the flag of the United States is a guarantee of protection to the persons and property of American citizens in the high seas than that the property, slaves or otherwise, of the South, is entitled to protection in the Territories while they are under the control of the Federal Government.

The South had a common right to the enjoyment of all the rights arising from the acquisition and possession of territory by the Federal Government. They stand as equals in the eye of the Constitution. A prime object of the framers of the compact was to "establish justice"; it is so nominated in the bond, and it is declared that nothing in the Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Mississippi and Massachusetts (pardon me) have a claim to the Federal Government to protect their slaves, and to secure the high seas than that the property, slaves or otherwise, of the South, is entitled to protection in the Territories while they are under the control of the Federal Government. If there is any cruelty committed with the master, it must refer to the treatment which Senator Douglass has bestowed upon himself and his followers. There is no doubt that he is a bold, cruel, & unfeeling scoundrel, a cowardly captain, who has exposed his nerve and heart enough to be a murderer. In that expectation they have been woefully mistaken, and have found themselves at sea without a national leader. The dissenters of Berk must book themselves up afresh, they are evidently behind the times in their knowledge of certain political events.

From the Mississippi and State Gazette, March 30.

THE SOUTHERN RELIGIOUS PRESS AND AFRICAN SLAVERY.

With due deference, we submit to religious journals of the South, that it has been too much their custom to leave what they term "several" papers the discussion of the subject of African Slavery.

The question of political right, which such discussions involve, is, truly, not properly waived, if outside the sphere which they have assigned themselves to labor in; but there is still another and a more important light in which the institution ought to be considered, expounded, and defended. We submit to the entire writings of the question. It merits at their hands thorough investigation in the light of the *Bible*.

Statesmen and politicians may dispute about the relative rights and powers of the State and Federal governments over the political economy of the country; but the question of right, but the point which looks up most logically to all others, in connection with the theme, is the *doctrine respecting Slavery taught by Christ and His Apostles*.

In the institution ordained by the Son of the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, and with the will of the

powerful arm of the church, it is a plain fact, that the Book of Life exhibits these grandees, as it unquestionably does, surely the men engaged in this work ought to devote themselves to its defense. Taking the Bible for their guide, they might find a place for the insipidities of wisdom; and that, in the spirit of a pure philanthropy, they ought to flood the land with light, and go into dark places and dispel the mists which ignorance and its offspring, fanaticism and prejudice, have thrown around.

When the great truth is spread abroad and thoroughly established, it will be seen that it is capable of being established, and Africa, in this case, will have to bear the brunt of it. It is the right of the Southern States, is a Biblical institution, the foundations of which will be laid so deep that it will defy the efforts of the world to move it.

The question is one above the platforms of parties, and must be met and decided, constitutionally and favorably, before it can be compromised; if the Cincinnati platform does not provide for this question, it must make to meet this issue.

This question of the right to hold slaves in the Territories will have to be met, and the South will demand her constitutional rights; these rights are recognized in the Constitution, asserted in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, admitted by the Cincinnati platform, and have been sanctioned by the voice of the people of the South.

When the great truth is spread abroad and thoroughly established, it will be seen that it is the right of the Southern States, is a Biblical institution, the foundations of which will be laid so deep that it will defy the efforts of the world to move it.

It is intimately connected with the question of maintaining and perpetuating this system of Slavery; but, as far as the Southern Slave trade is concerned, the Ruler of the Universe has been establishe

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